

PEACE NEWS

No. 521 June 7, 1946 2d.

Mr. Molotov does not help in the least

MR. Molotov's statement was about as depressing as it could be to those who still cherish some hope that Europe, and Germany, shall not be split into two hostile halves; and hardly less depressing to those who recognise the inevitability of this division, but would like to regard it

Observer's Commentary

as an evil, but temporary and reformable, necessity.

At one moment, indeed, Mr. Molotov touched a height of fantasy: when he declared that the fact that USA and Britain usually acted on previous agreement "ran counter to the lawful interests of other countries." This from the country which comes to UNO with the votes of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and the Ukraine in its pocket, is rich, indeed.

For the rest, Mr. Molotov made one or two legitimate debating points such as the dig at USA about Iceland. But these were on the periphery. At the centre the substance was frankly forbidding. The picture of USA and Britain forming a hostile bloc to impose their will on the USSR is so remote from the reality, which is a belated and uncoordinated effort of USA and Britain to prevent the USSR from having everything, everywhere its own way, that the possibility of any agreement seems more distant than ever.

Plain sabotage

MR. Molotov turned down the USA suggestion of a 25-year treaty for the demilitarization of Germany. To evade it he proposed an inquiry into the present state of German disarmament. When the Four Power Disarmament Commission met, the Russian representative refused to admit discussion of the German economy to the agenda. This is plain and deliberate sabotage of any attempt to prevent Germany from

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Under construction
A WORD which comes to haunt the mind of the editor of a pacifist journal is the word "constructive." Every week comes a letter demanding that he shall be more "constructive." But if he tries to be constructive, in a modest way, by indicating something concrete which could be done by individual people, if only they would make up their minds to do it, he is met as often as not with the criticism that this particular thing is "escapist."

So, after a while, he comes to the conclusion that a great many people mean by the blessed word "constructive" something which makes them happy, and that what makes many pacifists happy is the vision of a world in which people and nations go on behaving pretty much as they always do, without however going to war.

Peace News has always maintained that peace will only come through a real change in human behaviour—individual and social, economic and political: that pacifism is, essentially, a revolutionary creed, and the most revolutionary of all. It demands the transformation of the society of habit into the conscious community. It seems a constructive idea.

THE EDITOR.

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OUR TENTH BIRTHDAY NUMBER

FOOD WILL DECIDE THE ISSUE

The basic means to world power

DURING the war food was a great propaganda point. Countries which had been temporarily conquered by the Germans as well as the Germans themselves were told in repeated broadcasts that the United Nations were preparing for the day of liberation and victory by accumulating enormous food stocks, and that adequate nourishment, order and freedom for the individual would follow the Nazi surrender.

Now, the lives of millions in Europe and of far more millions in Asia are threatened by history's greatest famine, and no other single factor works so potently against the return of real peace. Hunger stalks the bigger part of the world. Not the ordinary hunger of the perpetually under-fed against which the well-fed have developed a self-protecting armour of indifference, but hunger to death.

Dangerous portents

In the East it coincides with national developments which, even without the despair induced by starvation, would portend danger. In Europe it concurs with the emergence of the Germans, who are most directly threatened by the famine, from the dazed stupor into which their utter defeat had thrown them, to make comparisons between the different regimes imposed by their not-so-allied conquerors. American, British and Russian soldiers grow less willing to stay there, while at least the British soldiers are developing sympathy for the badly under-fed ex-enemy and distaste for a life of luxury, amidst so much misery.

The world food shortage is partly the result of unfavourable harvest conditions and partly of a progressive decrease in the wheat acreage of the main producing countries. At the end of June their combined end-of-season carry-over stock will be only

FOOD

VIEWS

The Quaker, the Minister and the Expert

"Let all who can rightly do so help by giving up two slices of bread each day. It may mean life for some who would otherwise die" is one of the pleas made in a statement on the world food situation issued by the Society of Friends after its 278th Yearly Meeting.

Permission is also urged for the sending of gifts of certain non-perishable foods through suitable organizations for planned distribution.

The statement reads:

"MILLIONS of people are threatened with death from starvation this summer; but, for each one of us who can further limit our food a life may be saved. Food is a gift of God to all. As the stocks of grain run low, the decision must be made whether they shall be held by the strong or shared amongst all. Held, they will bring war nearer. Shared, they will help to bring peace.

Today, the people of Britain are on an average eating the energy-equivalent of 95 per cent. of their pre-war food. It would appear to be more than UNRRA estimates as necessary to maintain health. Most of the European countries are below that health level. In some, like Poland and Germany, many people are actually starving. So, too, are great numbers in India and China.

During the war, this country accepted the principle that essential food should be divided according to need. Christians should not approve a system that apportions food to peoples according to national power.

"The spirits of men are burdened with bitterness. It is not enough to make allocations of food. The glad giving to those in need will bring to birth new life and new friendships. As we share the world's food with the hungry, the spectre of war and famine will draw away and, at the world's table, Christ Himself will sit."

"Members one of another"

Mr. John Strachey in his maiden speech as Minister of Food, told the Commons:

"FAMINE, like peace, will be found to be indivisible. We shall

LOST AMID VICTORIES

I AM thankful for the immense gains that I have seen, but there are to be set against this great losses. Two great wars, and especially the coming of what is known as total war, have resulted in what seems to me to be a great deterioration over a wide field of human activity.

I can remember when the report of atrocities on what would seem to us to be a very small scale evoked widespread indignation against the perpetrators and practical sympathy with the sufferers.

THERE WAS THEN A WORLD OF CONSCIENCE WHICH WAS OUTRAGED BY CRUELTY. BUT IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST 30 YEARS WE HAVE SUPPED SO FULL OF HORRORS THAT OUR SENSIBILITIES HAVE BECOME BLUNTED.

The very magnitude of the cruelties inflicted seems to rob them of their poignancy.

—The Prime Minister, May 25.

port and labour difficulties, the disinclination of the masses of the food-surplus countries to ration themselves, strikes, political antagonisms, the profit motive and the multifarious complexities of business. The fact remains: given the existence of an ever-growing world population, as long as man must eat, food is the root of independence, and surplus food—to be given or withheld—the first means towards world power.

The effects of the mechanized production of goods tend to obscure this elementary fact but it will make itself felt the more in the long run, the more a country has built a top-heavy structure of political and commercial success on a foundation of high profit, non-agricultural activities. When overseas investments and assets have been eaten or gone up in the smoke of exploding enemy factories, however brightly the bonfires may burn, the people cannot eat victory. But they can be relegated to subservience to political groupings which they would otherwise reject, by the impelling force of hunger.

After the 1914-1918 war food relief was used with a by-measure of political bias. Now, after a quarter of a century, Washington has officially confirmed that Mr. Hoover (who is now again in charge of the study of food requirements) promised Hungary food if Bela Kun's Communist Government was overthrown.

TODAY India and China stand in the front-line of the sufferers. Reports regarding the number of people involved differ widely, but conservative estimates speak of thirty millions in each country as in direct danger of death from starvation. The member states of the Combined Food Board—USA, Britain and Canada—have established a new international emergency food council, to consist of twenty nations. But in the meantime, Hoover, returned from his world tour complains that, if the Russians only released to China and Korea some of the food-stuffs they secured in Manchuria, the Chinese situation would cease to be so dangerous. And the US Secretary of Agriculture declares that the Soviet's intentions regarding attempts to pool international food supplies "remain a mystery to him and to British and USA officials."

The focal point

One look at Germany, which remains the focal point of all Anglo-American-Russian questions, dissolves that mystery. The Russian zone is better fed than either the American or the British, and the greater the hunger becomes in any given area, the better prepared does it become for the economy and ideology of that one of the two great contestants for supremacy—western democracy plus capitalism and Soviet totalitarianism plus state socialism—which supplies an extra grain of food.

The same thing, not always quite so crudely, is going on in India, China and many other places. Food has become the most powerful weapon in the latest form of war.

PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.
Stamford Hill 2262

All correspondence on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

Time for reflection

IN making an interim decision that military conscription shall continue to the end of 1948, the Government has done what might have been expected. This country is still at war. There is no peace-treaty yet, and the chances of getting one this year are not very hopeful. So that it may fairly be argued that the Government has not, by its decision, prejudiced the deeper issues: whether there shall be military conscription in Britain in time of peace. That now fails to be decided in 1948, until the end of which year boys of eighteen will continue to be called up.

The campaign against peace-time conscription therefore becomes a long campaign: and the ultimate decision will probably depend at least as much on the prospects of settled peace in the world as they appear in 1948 as on the merits of the case against or for conscription. Nevertheless, we think this twilight interlude between war and peace, with its accompanying postponement of a decision on the conscription issue is not to be regretted, however regrettable may be the condition of the world which demands the postponement. For this interregnum gives the country the opportunity for a more considered and responsible decision than that which has been taken by the USA.

No one can pretend that the precipitate demobilization of the American army, and the near-abolition of conscription, have contributed anything to improve the chances of world-peace or to reanimate the civic morale of the USA. The spectacle presented to us is much more one of a headlong flight from the political responsibilities of a great nation than one of a triumphant assertion of human liberty. What, in fact, has happened is that the US government—if there is such a thing at present—by yielding to pressure from Congress about the Draft has transferred many of its own proper responsibilities to the overburdened shoulders of this country.

We sincerely hope that in 1948 the

British people will reject military conscription. The two and a half years between now and then must be used for an effort of sustained educational propaganda against it. But it would be irresponsible to pretend that a nation which embarked, fairly deliberately, on the fearful hazards of total war, can escape the consequences simply by refusing the burden of military conscription so soon as the shooting war is over. Anti-conscription makes sense as a national policy only in a nation which pursues a policy of peace.

There is not much doubt that the present British Government desires to pursue a policy of peace. At any rate, foreign observers have not much doubt about it. Our French temporary Réforme, discussing the British decisions to quit India and Egypt as evidences of an epoch-making change in British policy, says:

"If the British people called Labour to power, it was chiefly in the belief that, once the Man of War had gone, the reasons for taking up arms again would vanish, and that it must have a Government of men who proclaimed their intention to seek pacific solutions."

That is how the Labour Government appears to a French observer, who more easily sees the wood than the trees.

The difficulty of the British Government is to discover what are the "pacific solutions." By its decisions on India and Egypt, by its now open rupture with Churchillism, it has given more solid evidence of its pacific intentions than any great nation has given hitherto. And on the evidence we may credit it with the honest desire not to retain military conscription longer than it feels it must.

What we have the right to demand is that it should think more clearly: and distinguish absolutely between an army which is an instrument of order and civilization and an army which is an instrument for waging national war. Most of those commitments, of which the Government makes so much, are commitments which require not a warrior's army but an educated and disciplined civilian police. Why not say so?

torical probability" or by the equally connotative Marxist phrase "in the final instance decisive."

Let us understand clearly that Marxism does not reduce man to a cipher or an automaton—"it is men themselves who make this history"—as assumed in general criticisms and popular impressions of its alleged "economic determinism," "mechanistic materialism," and historical "inevitability." Misunderstanding is

LETTERS

most destructive, wherever it is found—in most articles, speeches, casual references and books about "Marxism." The heavy responsibility of creative pacifism requires a correct understanding of all historical movements including that of Marxism.

AYANA DEVA.

Compton Lodge,
7 Harley Road, N.W.3.

Conscription

I agree entirely with Laurence Housman when he says (PN, May 24) that the PPU in its anti-conscription campaign should expose and condemn the foreign policy that makes conscription necessary. I feel that the AGM resolution on conscription should have emphasized the part played by foreign policy in the maintenance of conscription.

At the same time, it would appear that if, as Mr. Housman urges, the PPU addresses its appeal "... only to those who have a moral right to oppose" conscription, the appeal is going to be heard by very few people indeed. Therefore, while the PPU should always give its own reasons for opposing conscription in full, I do not think it should refuse the support, if offered, of those whose motives may not be as pure as our own.

This is not Machiavellianism, but generosity. Good-hearted people are often muddle-headed. If their good hearts cause them to oppose conscription it would be unkind to reject them because their muddled heads do not allow them to see what is responsible for conscription. And if the muddle-headed opposition to conscription is sufficiently large it may force an alteration in the foreign policy. That would not be an ideal solution to the problem but it would be a typically British one.

In short, conscription is such a bad thing

TRIUMPHANT return of OWLGLASS
who has rediscovered Peace
(you'll know her by the V-sign)
to the tune of

Some talk of Alexander

PERMIT an old man to offer young Peace News a blessing on its tenth birthday. I am interested in this young paper, as I knew its father very well in the first war. Its father was not very respectable, and my association with it landed me in gaol. But it always takes two generations to make a gentleman.

The father died soon after the war, from malnutrition. Most dieticians agree that pacifist papers thrive best on war, and as everybody said there would be No More War, it pined away. Sad, because soon after it was dead the wars began again.

HOWEVER, Peace News is a much bigger and brighter child than its father was. It's had bigger wars to feed on. But what are its future chances of nourishment?

At present they're pretty good. The wars now on hand are, I admit, relatively insignificant. But we find the outlook for pacifist journalism much more hopeful as we look to Peace herself for the necessary stimulus.

PACE is not easily recognisable at first, as she's wearing a policeman's helmet and has exchanged her olive branch for an atomic truncheon. But you'll know her by the V-sign.

As we all know, the war was fought to destroy War, and resulted in a smashing victory for Peace. We always knew Peace had her victories no less renowned than War, but we never expected such a knockout.

The peace-making Allies agreed that Peace can only be properly established if she's strong enough to beat all comers and has a bigger fighting force and better weapons than anyone else.

SO Peace, the conqueror, having beaten War with his own wea-

In war, a man's private moral responsibility is merged into a thing called a National Conscience. You've heard of that; it comes in leading articles a lot.

—OWLGLASS, in PN, Jan. 29, 1943.

pons, sits enthroned, armed to the teeth, shaking her mailed fist and saying to War, "One crack out of you, and—!"

She has done what victors so often do—adopted the cults of the vanquished. Like the ship-wrecked sailor in the song, who, having eaten the rest of the crew, walked up and down the shore singing

"O I'm the cook and the captain bold,
And the mate of the Nancy brig,
The bo'sun tight and the midshipmite
And the crew of the captain's gig."

—so Peace, having thoroughly absorbed War and taken unto herself all his weapons, now sits on top of the world and sings

"O I'm the bomber, the gun, the tank,
The rocket and doodle-machine,
The armoured blitz and the atomic splitz,
And the crew of the submarine."

TH E only thing Peace is afraid of now is disarmament.

Weapons will continue to be manufactured and new ones invented, but only for the exclusive use of Peace. "Slip into my bosom and be lost in me," she will say to each new explosive as it leaves the laboratory "for regurgitation should occasion arise."

EVEN before War was finished she'd got a great big something the others hadn't got, and she guards the secret of it so well that she letteth not her Left Wing know what her Right Wing doeth. And to-day I read that the atom bomb is already out of date, and that the new weapon, too, is safe in the hands of the peacemakers. So Peace is stronger than ever. Indeed, Peace is now the mightiest warrior there ever was. Some talk of Alexander, but it only raises a laugh.

WAR is down and out, cowed to submission by Peace's magnificently stern array. He dare not lift his head lest we cry "Havoc!" and let slip the bombs of Peace. His conqueror restrides him, holding out the hand-grenade of Peace to all peoples.

Peace, universal Peace, broad-based upon a billion bombs, stands triumphant, with one eye on the bomb-sight, challenging opposition. Will any aggressor ever dare dispute her title?

WELL, she sure is one tough baby, the world-beating heavy-weight. But is not her very pre-eminence just the thing to tempt some ambitious young novice? Was ever yet a self-styled champion but raised an envious challenger?

It almost looks as if she expected that challenge any moment. For Peace is training all the time. Fitness First is the slogan at her training camp, and the peace-makers are ordering themselves compulsory military service.

Everything seems to be settled but the name of the challenger and the night of the fight.

So here's many happy returns to young Peace News. I think we can promise the lad a full-time job.

HOUSMAN'S

My Life and Thought.
Albert Schweitzer. 12s. 6d.

Left Hand, Right Hand.
Osbert Sitwell. 15s.

Fascimile Folios of First Texts:

Edited by Dover Wilson
—of Shakespeare's Lear:
Henry V: As You Like
It: Coriolanus; Julius 6s.
Caesar: Winters Tale: each.

124 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.I.

Marxism and Dogma

REGARDING the first point of Mr. Howard Fox's letter, that I have misunderstood Mr. Alex Comfort's interpretation of Marxism. After all my own quotation from Engels says that the economic relation "... is nevertheless in the final instance decisive" and therefore, Mr. Fox continues, "In this sense surely Mr. Comfort was essentially correct."

I do not think that it is in this sense that Mr. Comfort interpreted Marxism when he criticized the so-called Marxist "inevitability." The immediate context in his pamphlet refers to a certain event being "the overwhelming historical probability." Mr. Comfort then goes on to warn his readers against regarding that as the fallacious Marxist "inevitability." By the latter he obviously means something more than is meant by his own phrase "the overwhelming his-

torical probability" or by the equally connotative Marxist phrase "in the final instance decisive."

Let us understand clearly that Marxism does not reduce man to a cipher or an automaton—"it is men themselves who make this history"—as assumed in general criticisms and popular impressions of its alleged "economic determinism," "mechanistic materialism," and historical "inevitability." Misunderstanding is

that any reason for opposing it is good enough; but the PPU should certainly strive to turn the good enough into the really good.

CYRIL HUGHES.

92 Fulwood Road,
Aigburth Road, Liverpool, 17.

Save slices—and lives

IT has been suggested that in view of the famine conditions in Europe it would be well to form a group of those prepared to pledge themselves to do their best, till next harvest is in, to spare from their personal consumption some 500 calories a day (roughly two and a half full slices of bread, say the equivalent of "afternoon tea"), in order to leave this amount in the wheat "pipe-line" for use elsewhere. It may be roughly stated that each such regular reduction would save one life.

I should be grateful for post-cards from those feeling able to do this.

JOHN S. HOYLAND.

Quaker Settlement,
Woodbrooke, Birmingham, 29.

III-digested

Cannot the PPU AGM be saved from passing ill-digested Resolutions? The one I have particularly in mind had become so obsessed about the "Freedom of the Individual" that it decided to oppose any one being "directed" to work.

Do we not preach as pacifists that we must legislate to attain, that which we conceive to be just? Can we destroy capitalism in order to curtail the acquisitive man's instinct and allow the lazy man perfect freedom and yet be consistent?

To oppose the direction of labour, you must also oppose a police force. The duty of both is to help the individual and protect the community. We agree to give up our freedom for the sake of a greater "Good." That is Christianity and consequently good pacifism.

G. C. MADDEVER.

Liskeard.

South Tyrol

In PN, May 24, Observer refers to Italy's possession of Southern Tyrol as "Mussolini's robbery." This is incorrect: it was ceded to Italy under the terms of the 1919 Peace: Mussolini's March on Rome did not take place until 1922.

PAUL HUTTON.

Willoway Cottage,
Braunton, North Devon.

6th JUNE 1936 - THE FIRST TEN YEARS - 7th JUNE 1946

By HUMPHREY S. MOORE & JOHN W. COWLING

ON ITS TENTH BIRTHDAY, WE - TWO OF THE "PARENTS" OF PEACE NEWS - MAY BE EXCUSED for looking back and reminiscing on the first decade of what Dick Sheppard called "a romance in journalism," and especially wondering if our offspring's second decade will be as notable.

The one outstanding conclusion, as we look back, is that the work of bringing PN to life, and particularly the way in which we helped it to grow to so early a maturity, not only gave us satisfaction but justified up to the hilt the conviction that lay behind it - its very *raison d'être*. This was that the task of peace-making - even as pacifists see it - could be made to interest more people if it were presented in a more interesting way than it had hitherto been presented by the various existing peace and progressive publications.

These were unexceptionable in their content and - for those already disposed to sit down and study the case for peace - in their presentation. Neither disparagement nor competition was in the minds of the little group of North Londoners who - having studied the problems of peace-making for six months - decided to do something to arouse the concern of a larger public. This public simply could not be reached by those excellent publications, so they founded Peace News to do a different job in a different field: appeal to those - not necessarily inferior beings - for whom "the good news" has to look like news before they will stop and see if it is good. And we succeeded.

In public demand

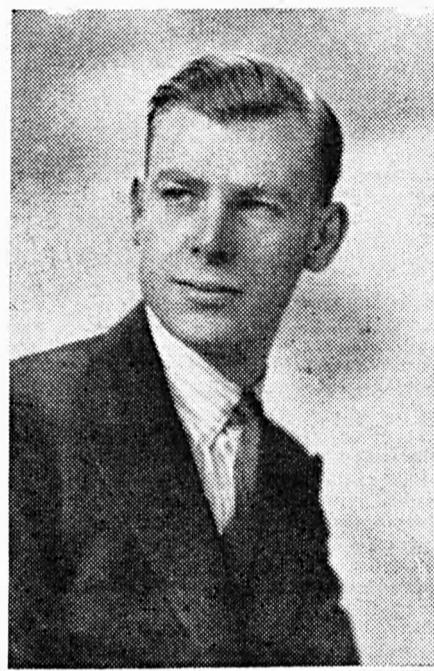
Because of the strength of our conviction, we christened our baby before ever we laboured to give it birth. But from its very birth - on June 6, 1936 - people saw its possibilities, brought it gifts, helped in every way to rear it. And at its "confirmation" into Dick Sheppard's "church" (the Peace Pledge Union) by the Sponsors of the PPU, the present Minister of Education, Miss Ellen Wilkinson, gave it her blessing with the comment that here was something new, produced by people who knew their job.

Not that we had none of the difficulties and anxieties of parenthood, but we had also the joys and thrills that more than compensate. The first was when one of the best-known wholesale newsagents came to ask for copies of one of the very earliest issues. Then - to end fears that it was a freak order - they asked for half a dozen, soon half a quire, and before long all the major wholesalers were ordering by the quire, and it was only a matter of time before it became dozens and even hundreds of quires.

Yet it was not the mere fact of growing numbers that justified our belief that news of peacemaking would sell if it were presented as news, but the consistent way in which the major increases were effected and the basic (or average) circulation pegged at ever higher levels. For whenever there was a special occasion for selling PN - whether in some large town or nationally - and a specially "saleable" issue was published with an appropriate front page, street sellers rose to the occasion and street buyers rewarded their efforts and justified our faith in a way that has never been experienced (we have tried it ourselves) with any of the more solid weekly, monthly, or quarterly publications of a progressive character. Moreover, there was ample evidence that the regular representation of Peace News of the local, national, and international peace effort as a "going concern" inspired new helpers to make it go and even brought new members to the specifically pacifist movement.

A respectable paper

Some of these - and also, of course, many people already active in the movement - belonged to the gallant band of those who helped PN in every way. Notable among contributors to the paper's news columns were correspondents in a score of countries, one at least of whom, known to



A pre-Munich photograph of Humphrey S. Moore, co-author of this article, founder and first Editor of Peace News. In 1940 he became Assistant Editor on John Middleton Murry's appointment, and left PN to take up a Fleet Street appointment only after our 400th number. Next month he is taking up a journalistic post in Vienna.

particularly mention the first of these, Wilfred Wellok, and the late Lord Ponsonby whose suggestion, in his feature column one week, that the burning of the Crystal Palace was a case of "official arson" brought us our earliest gift of publicity in the national daily press.

The second era

It is quite impossible ever to express adequately the thanks due to the many, many friends who sacrificed so much to build up the circulation. Though part of the price they paid was to make themselves conspicuous in their home towns, they hardly appeared at all in the overall picture.

They had to do their work first to enable PN to reach its highest average weekly sale of 35,000 (and peak figure of 42,000 in one week). And they came into their own when the newsagents refused to handle the paper, after the end of the "phony" war in 1940, by steadily raising the circulation - by their own, virtually unaided efforts - from the hardcore figure of 10,000 to a peak figure of nearly twice as many.

Thus began the second era of the paper's life - the era of total war, when fear overwhelmed all traditional freedoms. Peace News felt the blast at once with the printer's refusal to print the paper, but it is one of our proudest achievements that we never missed an issue in spite of such a difficulty, which was only the first of many.

see
how we ran

THE "quantity" - if not the quality - of Peace News has seen some ups and downs. In 1936 we were an eight-page paper. Later we increased to 12, and on March 5, 1938, to 16 pages - pages half as big again as our present size. All this for 2d!

The first issue after the outbreak of war was an "austerity" four-page issue, but published in duplicate to each reader - one copy to give away. Subsequent issues reverted to our normal, until the hectic Summer of 1940 -

"the days when heav'n was falling,
The hour when earth's foundations fled."

Shunned by commercial printers and wholesalers, overshadowed by the fog of Defence Regulations, PN maintained a skeleton "emergency" publication of four tiny pages, all handset at the printing firm of Eric Gill until new arrangements could be made.

*

Our paper quota allowed us a regular four-page issue, with occasional six-page issues, and at the end of 1944, to make the best use of our hard-pressed space the present format was introduced.

Scrapbook of Peace and War

TURNING back the files of Peace News for this anniversary one is impressed by the once ample supply of newsprint; the bold type on the front page proudly announcing: "The only weekly newspaper serving all who are working for peace." Ever since the appearance of that first number, dated 6th June, 1936, Peace News has been consistently loyal to a pacifist policy.

"We do not minimise our task but neither do we minimise the power of our principle of love which, we believe, is capable of transforming suspicion and hatred into confidence and comradeship - if only it is tried." So ran the statement issued by the Northern Friends Peace Board at that time of "international crisis."

Do you remember the bookshop in Ludgate Hill, or the half-page advertisement offering Richard B. Gregg's "The Power of Non-Violence" at 5s.? Or the international conferences reported by PN correspondents, the raiding and wrecking of Anti-War exhibitions, the Manifesto Campaign or the "unqualified success" of Swinwick Camp? Then there were those attractive advertisements inviting you to spend "seven days in the Belgian Ardennes for £3 15s." To give readers some picture of the varied and chequered career of Peace News we have compiled this scrapbook of our last ten years.

PPU newspaper

Beginning like any other humble attempt to seek light on current problems, a small group in London met together regularly over a number of months to discuss the implications of pacifism in its application to all human relationships . . . with this issue Peace News becomes the weekly newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union. (July 25, 1936).

At the close of the World Youth Congress at Geneva a dozen pacifist delegates from six countries held a private conference of their own, and drew up plans for the establishment of an International Bureau of Pacifist Youth. . . . The Bureau will be provisionally formed by representatives in Geneva, Vienna, London, Brussels, and Paris. (Sept. 19, 1936).

As a sequel to his visit to the United States in April (together with Dr. Alfred Salter) for the Emergency Peace Campaign, Mr. George Lansbury has just been on a visit to the European continent. (Oct. 3, 1936).

*

Even at the eleventh hour of Madrid's last fierce fight for life, leading pacifists in this country were making bold, desperate efforts to minimise its agony. (Nov. 14, 1936).

Be constructive, Mr. Churchill

The crisis which developed last week rather overshadowed a remarkable meeting which took place in the Royal Albert Hall. . . . Mr. Churchill, however, deprecated the methods of Canon Sheppard and Mr. George Lansbury, and declared that

"to stop the coming war we must, in the next six months, gather together the greatest number of nations - all as well armed as possible - and united under the Covenant of the League." (Dec. 12, 1936).

*

I come not to attack Mr. Churchill; he has his own line of thought and action and will go his own way as we shall go ours. I come to you not with a new gospel, but with a fresh application of an old one. - George Lansbury. (June 4, 1938).

Our Generals are dead

"Our General is dead. No-one who had any sense of a man could fail to recognise one in Brig.-General F. P. Crozier, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O." (Sept. 4, 1937).

*

Dick Sheppard is dead; but he died knowing that the movement for constructive peace as advocated by the PPU would survive even the loss of its founder. (Nov. 6, 1937). Only a week before he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University.

*

As this is probably almost the last occasion on which I shall have the opportunity of addressing this House,

THE LIGHTER SIDE

Practical hints on "selling" peace . . . the idea is to make a splash, and to drive home one's message while interest is keen . . . don't clutter up the window, however. (Aug. 1, 1936).

Should a pacifist sell old iron if it is likely to be used in the manufacture of armaments? (Sept. 11, 1937).

I can no longer refrain from rising to oppose the present war and everything connected with it. - Dr. Alfred Salter, MP. (Dec. 5, 1941).

First AGM

The Manifesto of the Peace Pledge Union had its send-off last week-end, while at the first annual general meeting of the PPU plans were being laid for the nation-wide campaign which is to bring the Manifesto before the country as indicating the only alternative to rearmament and war. (April 9, 1938).

Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Hitler, if dictated as much by the fact of the consequent deadlock as by any will to get down at last to the real issues, was by far the wisest and most hopeful step in the whole business to date. What he said - or was told - might not be so good for the general cause of peace. (Sept. 17, 1938).

Dr. Alex Wood, the new chairman of the national council of the PPU, here considers what he calls "the dilemma of the new generation of conscientious objectors." (Feb. 2, 1940).

The Ministry of Information recently published a leaflet containing extracts from articles or statements by Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Maude Royden, and A. A. Milne. The title suggested that because "It's different now" pacifists should abandon views they held previously and join in the war effort. (Nov. 8, 1940).

A grave report, ignored by the British press, has appeared in the USA of more than 8,300,000 Belgians living on "starvation rations." (Aug. 8, 1941).

In one of the galleries of the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a bound volume of the Illustrated London News for 1842. It is open at a page dated June 16 and at the top of the page is written: DESTRUCTION OF CITY OF HAMBURG. (Oct. 15, 1943).

At 9.30 a.m. on Tuesday, June 6, it was announced that the dreaded invasion of Europe had begun. . . . We have no belief in, nor desire for victory in itself; but a quick victory is now the best hope of a quick end to this massive suffering. (June 9, 1944).

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE)

Our tradition: our responsibility

by LEOPOLD HUGHMAN

CHARITY," we are often told by apologists for inaction, "begins at home"; and in a sense that they do not intend, they are right.

Charity does begin at home, inasmuch as it begins in the individual or group exercising its gift. Charity (in the older, the Pauline sense of the word) is the determining factor in the attitude of individuals or groups towards the possessions—material, intellectual, spiritual—at their disposal. Shall these be used for narrow, selfish ends, or be considered in the light of the needs and rights of others?

The world to-day presents a picture of millions of people with their needs and rights unsatisfied or unfulfilled. Over large parts of the earth, and in Europe in particular, social patterns have been torn to shreds, traditions have been uprooted, and vast populations have been reduced to existence on an animal level. It is a distortion of the truth to apply the words "Peace" and "Freedom" to such conditions.

Responsibility

What these peoples lack, we in Britain to a large extent possess: can we, dare we, keep our possessions to ourselves? If the answer is "Yes," we are damned, we are worthless. It was not only to the Corinthians that St. Paul wrote: "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." He says, in effect, to us: "The possession of exceptional gifts, resources and powers is of no worth at all, unless these things are related to the needs of our fellow-men."

The fact that Britain has gone through long years of war and emerged with not only a large measure of her traditional freedoms, but also with a standard of living and social security incomparably higher than that prevailing in most of Europe, should lead us to preserve and enrich the best in our tradition, not only for our own sakes, but for the sake of the world.

The gulf that exists between our life and life on the continent is immense. The greater it becomes the greater the danger for the future. It is our urgent task to bridge this

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CATARRH

THIS commonest of all disease conditions amongst civilised peoples, greatly impairs mental efficiency, lowers resistance to infection, and generally debilitates its innumerable victims. The true remedy is to de-toxicate the system, restore the clean bloodstream of youth, and then reform the diet and other habits of living.

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Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex

A problem of behaviour

THE first full year of peace threatens the world with more disease and suffering than in all the war years.

"This is not fantasy. This is the grim possibility which confronts our famine-haunted world.

"These disasters need not happen. Famine is not inevitable. It is in our power to prevent it.

"If people die of hunger it will not be because there is too little food to go round. It will be because we are short, not so much of food as of will to get the right shares of it into the right mouths.

"Really, deep down, the problem is not strictly a food problem at all. It is a problem of how people will behave about food as producers, distributors, transporters, consumers."

—Mr. Herbert Morrison, broadcasting in USA on May 15.

gulf: we should realize the responsibility of our heritage by creating a socially-aware democracy that is an example to and that co-operates with the stricken countries of Europe.

THE future cannot be built on blue-prints alone—a stable society does not lie that way. Although, on the one hand, we should concern ourselves with the development of a spontaneous, living culture that is part of the stream of life, we must not be afraid of building on the past, in order to preserve the necessary element of continuity. And, as surely as we depend on the past, so is the present part of the future. As Wordsworth wrote, "in this moment there is life and food for future years."

Such a realization should urge upon us a sense of responsibility here and now: where we fail to preserve the right sense of continuity with our past heritage, we fail to provide the right foundation for the future. A knowledge of how people used to live will help us to care how they are going to live.

This calls for a wider and deeper understanding of the evolution of democracy in Britain: such an understanding would inevitably reflect itself in the lives of the people. An awareness of the value of their inherited tradition, in terms of the lives and struggles and ideals of their forebears, would naturally bring about that increase of civic responsibility in individuals that is essential if we are to preserve and enrich democracy for the future.

Crisis in valuation

WE are faced, as Karl Mannheim has pointed out in "Diagnosis of Our Time," with a "crisis in valuation" that not only is a predominant feature of our time, but is the cause, and not the effect, of the crisis in our civilisation. It is this "crisis" that we must meet: our society must be brought to rid itself of its mania for acquisition, and to see where true values lie. The pattern of our social democracy, woven over the course of centuries, is in danger of obscurity and disintegration: the dust of formal institutionalism is being trampled into it by the heavy feet of possessiveness.

We must rescue and clean this pattern, weaving new threads into it where necessary, and present it for the world to see.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

OSWELL BLAKESTON believes he writes the

MOST UNPOPULAR ARTICLE IN THE WORLD

SUCH is the power of words that a man who professes "a love for children" is automatically deemed to have a fair share of the humanities. Anyone, therefore, who dares to analyse some of the evils which may hide behind this phrase, is bound to meet with enormous irrational opposition. The fake emotions, which have found a happy breeding ground, protest that the subject is taboo. But it is important, for the general pacification and sanity of the world, that certain things should be put down straight.

First of all, it cannot be said too clearly that the man who lives "only for his children" is a traitor to humanity. Behind the excuse of an all-absorbing "love for children," he is betraying them and every spiritual value which might lead them to the golden age. By avoiding the responsibility of living his own life here and now, by placing his ideals and happiness in the next generation, a man leaves children with a world no better than the one that crushed the parents.

Frustrated happiness

The children, in their turn, will have to find frustrated happiness in hopes for their children, for their spiritual equipment is unlikely to be successfully adapted to solving the muddle of misery and distress. The heritage a man should give his child is the living example of his own integration, his own happiness which comes through an honest living of his own life, in which the children are a part but not a substitute for the whole. If each generation had such a gift to build on, each would take the world one step forward. The damnation is the parent who says to the child, "It does not matter what happens to me; all I care about is you." And the child's answer should be: "Vampire!"

Then, people who want to vampire the life of a child, are often tempted to seek an outlet for the "power complex" in the children's world. They have shirked the task of becoming adult, and so they have not learnt how to enjoy power in an adult and social way—the power and happiness of self honesty, of creative activity, of working in collaboration with one's neighbour for a better world.

These "great lovers of children" seek the company of the little ones because they can dominate them. Their contemporaries recognize them as empty failures, but they can still "put one over" on the toddlers. These people, who have committed spiritual mayhem, the true sin against the Holy Ghost, may "have a way" with babies; but they are less than indifferent parents when the children are old enough to see through the illusion of "wonderful daddy." They are the very last who should be allowed to associate with the young. The child, if he is to become the peaceful citizen (i.e., the happy one, and not the dissatisfied, the discontented) must have near him adults who enjoy the peace of satisfaction, of ideals that are living and lived values.

Domination

Of course "love of children" has its real and sanctified meaning as well as its uses as a bit of camouflage for evil. What is the true definition? A parent should love a child because he is potentially what the parent is actually. Anything else, more or less, is in danger of being fake, of being a disguise for emotions for which the parent has not found the proper outlet, of being compensation for failure and emptiness which, through the psychic mechanism of a false relationship, are finally transferred to the child.

HOW often, during war years, one heard the expression "innocent children." And how few people asked themselves "In what way are they innocent?" Isn't it just a question of time? In twenty

years, won't these innocents be throwing their hand-grenades and gouging out eyes? In other words, the children are innocent only if the parents are innocent. If the parents are too lazy to "live," the children are already tainted.

It is a false sentiment of loving children as something other than potential good, of loving them as an excuse for not facing one's own discipline of joy, which makes war the recurring disaster. The parent's responsibility is to show the child that adult life is worth living; and that is the only way to rear genuine pacifists and happy citizens.

A BALANCED view on children is essential for world peace. It is a symptom of the war mind to think the child is more important than the parent ("Fight this war to save your children from war!"). The father must be the justification of the child. A wise mother said to me during the raids, "The death of a child is sad, but it is only a little death. The death of a good man is a full-scale tragedy." And this is the hard and unsentimental truth—that it is the parent who has the spiritual discipline to find his own life good who justifies the whole idea of the human race, who has the right to love his child because it will grow to be a man.

Basic Issues

THE Committee appointed by the National Council of the PPU to consider and report on issues relating to International, Industrial and Social order, divided itself into two sections. That which dealt with basic long-term issues has now drafted an interim report, which does not necessarily represent the opinion of the movement as a whole.

But it is of such interest and importance that we are now publishing it section by section over a period of nine weeks. Comments and criticism on the report will be helpful to the Committee in preparing the final draft and will be welcomed by the Secretary, Dr. A. K. Jameson, at 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

MAN IN RELATION TO SOCIETY

1. Man is by nature a social being and ultimately there is no opposition between the good of the individual and that of society.
2. Society should be an organic whole, not a collection of separate units held together by external force. Its unity will be based on spiritual principles as well as on physical and psychological needs.
3. Society exists to promote the highest well-being of all its members. It must therefore provide the necessary conditions to enable each individual to fulfil his proper ends. On the other hand, the individual must act with a full sense of his responsibility to society.
4. The underlying principle of conduct should be positive, not negative: the achievement of the good life, which includes the building up of the harmonious society, not the mere combatting of evils. This end must be consciously pursued in every relation of life.

SOCIETY and the C.O.

by G. A. Sutherland
(6d.; by post 7d.)

The third in the "Reply to Prof. Field" series
C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Passionate Indignation

"White Sahibs in India," by Reginald Reynolds. Socialist Book Centre, 10s. 6d.

THE moment is rapidly approaching, we hope, when British domination over India will come to an end. For those who wish to know the nature of that domination—typical of all imperialism—this reprint, with additions bringing it right up to date, of a book first issued in 1937 will be invaluable.

The facts have been studiously distorted by propaganda representing this country as a disinterested benefactor. In reality we have carried out over a long period a fully conscious and extremely ruthless policy of exploitation. Having first, in the 18th century, looted the wealth of an India rich by contemporary European standards, we set ourselves, in the interests of a rising industrialism, to crush those Indian industries which were rivals to our own and, having succeeded only too completely, we then forced our products on India. Not content with reducing the country to being a source of raw materials for our own benefit, we made it also a field for investment, whereby shareholders in this country grew rich on the poverty of the Indian.

Peasant poverty

The result has been to transform a country which for centuries had possessed an economy admirably balanced between agriculture and industry into one dependent almost entirely on subsistence farming. The pressure of population on the soil is now so great that the Indian peasant is among the poorest to be found anywhere.

Malnutrition has increased at such a rate that the average expectation of life has in recent years fallen from 30 to 27—in this country it is 62. And we have been mean enough to lay the blame for this on the Indian himself, alleging that his incontinence produces an excessive increase of population. Actually, for the 50 years before 1921, the rate of increase was much lower than that of Europe during the same period, and even to

day, when it has certainly shot up, India could, if properly administered, support her present population in comfort.

Yet poverty is increasing and, owing to the legal system introduced by us, the land is falling into the hands of the money-lender. Peasants who formerly enjoyed security of tenure are being reduced to the status of landless labourers on starvation wages. This process has gone so far in Bengal, formerly the most prosperous province of all, that a recent Government enquiry has revealed that no less than one-third of the agricultural population has lost its rights in the

Guilty nations

It is the fashion to hold the Germans as a nation guilty of the horrors of Belsen and to deny the validity of their plea of ignorance. A similar indictment could be brought against us as a nation for what we have allowed to happen in India. But, as this book abundantly proves, there have never been wanting at any stage individuals who, to their honour, have protested and have published the facts.

I accept as correct the broad outlines of the author's picture. Yet, as an ex-member of the service mainly responsible for the administration of India, I find difficulty in recognizing the portrait of us which he paints.

We may have been lamentably ignorant of the history and literature of India and incurious about its culture. But it is just not true to say that we could not converse with the peasant nor read his language; our days were, in fact, largely spent in doing just those things. Nor did we indulge in Machiavellian plots to foment trouble between Hindu and Moslem; on the contrary, our one aim was to keep the peace—if only to save ourselves trouble. What we can be legitimately charged with is a lack of imagination; most of us saw the evils which surrounded us, but we tended to regard them as inevitable. We did try to alleviate the suffering of the peasant, but without enquiring into the real cause of it, and therefore we merely perpetuated it.

This, however, is the only criticism of substance I have to make of a book which is the outcome of a passionate indignation against oppression. A great deal of research has gone to the writing of it and the author's statements are carefully supported by reference to authority. Everyone should read it in order to realize how inevitably does the domination of one nation over another lead to collective crimes by individuals who in normal circumstances would not have been guilty of them.

HIGHEST BID?

"We have a breathing space of, perhaps, 15 years to make a repetition of world war impossible."—Lord Lindsay, in the House of Lords.

Words of Peace

No. 173 •

Weapons are disastrous implements, no tools for a noble being.

Only when he can do no otherwise does he make use of them...

Quiet and peace are for him the highest.

He conquers, but he knows no joy in this. He who would rejoice in victory would be rejoicing in murder...

At the victory celebration the general should take his place as is the custom at funeral ceremonies. The slaughter of human beings in great numbers should be lamented with tears of compassion. Therefore should he who has conquered in battle bear himself as if he were at a festival of mourning.

—Lao-tse, quoted by Albert Schweitzer.

World organization

World Unity Booklets.—1: First Principles, by Salvador de Madariaga and Prof. MacIver (Herbert Joseph, 2s.)

2: International Public Corporations, by Dr. W. Friedmann, LL.M. (Lond. Univ.)

3: Framework for a World of Plenty.

THE object of these excellent booklets is, as their editor (Mr. James Avery Joyce) says in an introduction,

"to present, in a short and handy form, a series of studies in world reconstruction. Some . . . will deal with general principles. Others will deal with specific and concrete problems—technical, economic, social and educational—which will engage the anxious attention of world builders in the years immediately ahead."

Three issues so far have appeared; others are to follow. The first deals, in two articles from a distinguished Spanish and distinguished American writer, with basic principles. "The world," it says, "must be governed as a unity." "There must be world democracy;" which must be voluntary as well as world wide. "Power alliance" will merely "block the road." "Abolition of national armaments is a primary requirement."

"The most promising line of advance in the building up of international peace is," says Dr. Friedmann, "the setting up of as many joint international agencies as possible." They should be "established for purposes of international government but constituted as commercial corporations." Existing examples are the Postal Union, the Berne Copyright Unions, and the International Institute of Agriculture. The "Bank for International Settlements" should be regarded "as a warning rather than a model," for whereas some of its directors acted "under (their) Government direction," others "were not responsible to anyone." Future organizations "must have the status of an international legal person." The difficulties are admitted; for example, "An International Administrative Tribunal is the necessary counterpart of immunity from national jurisdiction."

* * *

The third (with a foreword by Dr. Louis de Broekere, Belgian Senator) is "a report on international economic and social reconstruction, prepared by the new Europe Circle." That Circle's investigations began prior to the war, and its members ("mostly holding official positions in the service of their respective Governments") came from most European and some other countries. Its aim is to suggest ways of efficient economic distribution.

Various departments of economics will call for varieties of treatment. The ideal must be "the highest possible output of goods and services." "One of the chief duties of a Control would be the direction of production" and marketing. The problems of Free Trade and Industrial Conscription are obviously difficulties likely to be formidable.

J. W. POYNTER.

June 7, 1946. PEACE NEWS—5

HELP FROM EIRE FOR GERMAN CHILDREN

THE "Save the German Children" Society of Eire held its second General Meeting recently in Dublin. It is not in competition with the Irish "Save the Children Fund," which is already doing excellent work on general lines, but works solely to fill this special need.

Its aim has been to bring some of the children threatened with starvation over to Eire, where 500 homes for life have already been offered them. Efforts are still being made to secure their release by the Allied Control.

Meanwhile £500 worth of tinned milk has been distributed to the children of Hanover through the Irish Red Cross, while another £500 has been sent through the Vatican.

At a recent meeting of the Society in Cork, a C. of I. clergyman, Rev. M. Baker, said that while having been pro-Axis during the war, he was now pro-humanity, and advocated giving all the help possible to these innocent victims. There are three branches of the Society in Cork, and 15 in Co. Dublin.

Scrapbook of Peace and War

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE THREE)

Europe, a fragmented and broken-up continent filled with people glaring at each other in hate, is the greatest problem now facing mankind . . . who knows what the world of to-morrow will bring in the way of new madness . . .?—Gen. Smuts. (July 27, 1945.)

* * *

We make no apology for devoting this page to the subject of the atomic bomb. Its arrival is an event of such significance in human history that it cannot be dismissed as a seven-day's wonder. (Aug. 31, 1945.)

Bertrand Russell is by no means the most optimistic of persons. . . . Yet recently, making one of his rare appearances in the House of Lords, he said apropos the atom bomb, that humanity had ten years in which to learn how to conquer this menace. (Jan. 18, 1946.)

* * *

Last but not least an old prescription given in our first issue:

Communist—a strong powder to be taken in one large gulp.

Labour—three pills to be taken after a large meal.

Liberal—if the patient shows signs of imminent collapse a small injection may safely be given.

Tory—coloured water of purely psychological effect. (June 6, 1936.)

It pays to advertise

Congratulations and good wishes come from loyal friends who have advertised with us every week since the first issue, inviting readers to their Vegetarian Guest House in the Derbyshire Hills. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow write: "It was here at The Briars that the idea of PN first took shape. . . . Go ahead, PN, and with all the vigour, originality and faith you possess, give the good news. . . ."

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WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

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YOUNG MAN, socialist war re- sister, lonely, congenial company, interested politics, pacifism, philosophy, other general interests, sport, etc., would like friendship with lady similar views. Box 413.

INDIAN JOURNALIST interested in politics, literature, philosophy, plays, pictures and rambling, welcomes friendship of London girl with socialist views. Box 394.

LONELY? GENUINE and agreeable correspondence friendships arranged. Reliable introductions. Parties. "Let'selpu" Bureau (Dept. 3), 6 Springfield Street, Wigan.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

GENERAL SECRETARY PPU. Executive will consider applications for above vacancy. Parties, on application to Chairman PPU, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

AUTHOR REQUIS. Artist to help illustrate Children's Storybook. Small woodland animal drawings, plates and sketches. Samples welcomed and returned. Box 409.

QUALIFIED MEDICAL assistant wanted. Please apply to Dr. Thomas, St. Clare, Garth Villas, Merthyr Tydfil.

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SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED EXPERIENCED SHORTHND.-TYPIST reqd. evening work. Tottenham or Hackney or nearby preferred. Enquire Wells, 197 Park Lane, N.17.

STRACHEY A FUTURE PREMIER?

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

collapsing into chaos. Any schoolboy knows that an inquiry into German disarmament is quite impossible without an inquiry into the dismantling of German industrial equipment.

It is impossible not to support the Manchester Guardian (May 30) in demanding that we should follow, without delay, the American initiative in suspending all further dismantling of factories in their zone. But the Economist (June 1) does well to ask: Is it not a fact that the chief obstacle to a joint policy in Western Europe at present is not Russian obstruction or Mr. Molotov's obstinate diplomacy, but the deep and so far unbridged gulf between the British and French attitudes?

It is not a fact; but it does need to be recognized that the scrapping of the Potsdam agreement by Britain as well as USA will do nothing of itself to create unity between the Western allies. But it would clear the air.

French axiom

IT is to be hoped that French policy will become clearer after the elections. Even the French socialists (to judge from an interview with M. Gouin in The Times, May 29) dare not relinquish the demand that the Rhur and the Rhineland shall not be allowed again to become an integral part of Germany. It appears to be axiomatic with a majority of the French people that these key provinces should be permanently taken out of reach of any possible German military control in the future. With their experience of invasion from Germany it is very natural; and no theories about the obsolescence of military frontiers in the atomic age will exorcise their ancestral fears, any more than the average Englishman is likely to be persuaded within a decade that the English Channel is a worthless defence.

But if, as is only right, the heavy industry of the Ruhr is never again allowed to build up German military power, it cannot be allowed to build up the military power of France. The only just solution is to internationalize the Ruhr for the purposes of peace, and for the economic benefit of Germany.

Satellite arms

RUSSIAN policy (to judge from the new Russo-Polish agreement) appears to be to arm the satellite countries to the teeth. Assuredly in their present mood of fervid nationalism, they need no encouragement in this fatal direction. But the rejection by Russia of the Byrnes proposal for a 25 years treaty, fits together with the Russian encouragement of Poland to annex huge non-Polish tracts of Germany. So Poland is left with no escape. Her only way of clinging to her ill-gotten gains is to make feverish military preparation against the day when Germany becomes strong again. But Poland needs all her strength to repair the ravages of war.

A three-power treaty for the demilitarization of Germany offered Poland simultaneously the chance of reducing her own military burdens and the chance of a peaceful rearrangement, on lines that might be enduring, of her own frontier with Germany. No doubt Poland is in no position to refuse political directives from Moscow just now. It is those directives which need to be moderated. Mr. Molotov gives the world little ground to hope that they will be.

The limits of power

PRESUMABLY on good authority, for it is a responsible as well as a stimulating journal, The New English Weekly (May 30) asserts that in 1937 Russian communized agriculture gave to the people 30% less bread per head than they had under

ALL WEST OF ENGLAND PACIFISTS ARE INVITED, SAT., JUNE 15, to the Area Rally at "Whiteway," Nr. Birdlip, Glos.

Chairman: REV. HAMPDEN HORNE. Speaker: WILFRED WELLOCK, at 3.45 p.m., followed by tea (bring sandwiches) ramble on Cotswolds and Social and Dance.

A coach, with limited accommodation, will leave Bristol, Templemeads, at 2.15 p.m.

Particulars from Alan Mister, Lansbury, Holcombe Rogus, Wellington, Som.

the Czar before the first world-war.

"What there was may have been better distributed; the peasants may have laboured under happier and less exacting conditions; they may have enjoyed more social and cultural benefits than their fathers, but the plain fact is that they were not producing nearly so much from the earth they cultivated, despite that impressive mechanization over which the Soviet films grow ecstatic."

As the N.E.W. maintains, this fact (if true) is of great importance to the future of mankind. It is an indication that civilization is on the way to a disaster even more serious than that of world-war. Large-scale mechanization of agriculture apparently leads to a drastic reduction in the total food available for the population of the world.

Since this method of farming definitely has the upper hand in the two greatest powers in the world today, USA and Russia, there is a poor look-out in the immediate future for starving humanity. But it offers a long-term hope. Those great power-aggregations may relatively soon be threatened by a sinking of their foundations. They may be to-day at their zenith, and not, as we tend to imagine, at the beginning of further accumulations of productivity and power.

A new harmony

HOWEVER that may be, it is a policy of sanity for every country to do its utmost to become self-supporting in food-production. For Britain this means more intensive cultivation, and still more studious application to the maintenance of soil-fertility. Perhaps the day will come when the waste of sewage and refuse by the great cities is superseded by a proper use of these precious materials to enrich the soil.

I am not an opponent of artificial manures—quite the contrary—though I am pretty well convinced that an abuse of them is an almost inevitable accompaniment of large-scale machine farming. But I am convinced that until men advance to a social philosophy which puts the maintenance of soil fertility at the very foundation of social morality the world will continue to move towards disaster. But the law of Nature of which men are so desperately in need will not be found by going back. It is a new harmony that is required: a courageous subordination of the claims of superficially applied science to the true ends of man.

Applied science has become the master of human life where it should be the servant: it has established itself as the deity in the empty mind of unthinking man when the God of an older and stable civilization became incredible. Until a new content is given to the idea of God, the idea of God will not be real; and without the idea of God men will continue to use applied science to destroy themselves.

The new Minister

BY general consent Mr. John Strachey has been the outstanding success among the junior ministers of the Labour Government since his Chief was in the Lords, he had outstanding opportunities. As Minister of Food he becomes immediately a figure of great importance in the public eye, and has the chance of making a reputation that may easily carry him to the Premiership.

Of his ability there is no doubt; and he certainly has the mental toughness appropriate to a modern politician. When I knew him his great defect was a certain pachydermatous quality. I should have said at that time that he was much more like a typical Soviet than a typical British politician. But time may have mellowed him; and developed in him a respect for the British conception of individual liberties which he had not when he was very much a Communist fellow-traveller. I remember well a debate with him in 1932 in which to my contention that English Communists, instead of following directives from Moscow, should join the Labour Party and help to give it "a sense of direction and conviction," he replied that my idea that the Labour Party could carry through a social revolution in England was nonsense; that if I could believe in a peaceful surrender of the British governing class, I could believe anything.

Mr. Strachey used then to talk, very vigorously, all the Communist hokum about the British belief in civil liberty being nothing but camouflage for anti-social property rights. I hope and believe he has learned wisdom since.

Pre-fab coffins in China

Mr. John Ridley, until recently special correspondent in China for the *Daily Telegraph*, reports this graphic sidelight on the tragedy of famine in China:

DR. F. A. Jensen, an UNRRA representative, who visited the Chaoshan district of East Kwantung, reported when he returned to Shanghai that coffins were lined up daily at a certain place by a charitable Buddhist organization. People staggered there to lie down in their coffins and await death. In that way they were sure of some sort of burial. . . . The pre-war population was 1,030,000; to-day it is less than 900,000."

BRITISH SUPPORT FOR U.S. AMNESTY

THE Freedom Defence Committee has written to President Truman protesting against the continued imprisonment of 3,000 C.O.'s in America, and suggesting that the heavy sentences should be commuted by a general amnesty. Among the signatories are T. S. Eliot, B. H. Liddell Hart and George Bernard Shaw.

* * *

The War Resisters League's chairman, Dr. Evan W. Thomas, has expressed gratification at the U.S. Supreme Court's recognition that "conscience is not incompatible with citizenship." This followed the granting of citizenship to an applicant who had refused to bear arms.

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing 22 national denominations, has resolved that: "The cause of justice would be served" by "a general amnesty for conscientious objectors now in federal prisons and for those who although released bear continued civil disabilities." (Amnesty Bulletin).

Additional sponsors of the Amnesty Committee in USA include: Pearl Buck, Thomas Mann, Lillian Smith and John van Druten. Upton Sinclair has also declared himself very strongly in favour of amnesty.

U.S. COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC RESEARCH

IN a statement on atomic energy the US Socialist Party states that the issue is not simply military versus civilian control.

"The real issue is outlawing the military use of atomic energy by international agreement (with such safeguards as free inspection of all factories capable of producing munitions or atomic energy) and insuring democratic social control of its industrial uses, so that the government may not dissipate the people's two billion dollar investment."

* * *

The Socialist Party of America has announced in The Call that it has joined the National Committee on Atomic Information, which is a clearing house established by sixty national organizations.

Its object is to provide a medium through which they can co-operate with the atomic scientists for public understanding of the scientific facts of atomic energy and their implications for society.

Federal Union move to amend UNO Charter

The National Council of Federal Union has resolved that "the United Nations Charter is inadequate for the preservation of a Rule of Law among nations and therefore for the maintenance of peace," and endorsed a petition to the General Assembly dated Feb. 1, 1946, containing tentative proposals for amendment of the existing Charter.

Federal Union will take immediate steps to bring the substance of these amendments before the British Government and people in order that Britain play her part in transforming UNO into a World Federal Government.

MORE "BUILDING THE PEACE"

The National Peace Council programme for June and early July in its series of lunch-hour meetings in the Kingsway Hall, London, on Fridays at 1.15 p.m. is:

To-day: Henry Usborne, MP, "Towards World Government—A Way Forward";

June 14: Kenneth Grubb, CMG, "The Era of Atomic Power";

June 21: to be announced;

June 28: G. D. H. Cole, "Economic Peace—The role of Britain and America";

July 5: J. Middleton Murry, "Is Peace Possible?"

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P.P.U. GENERAL SECRETARY

THE National Council, at its meeting on May 25, heard with regret that Patrick Figgis had asked to be allowed to resign his post as General Secretary of the Union. Patrick Figgis explained that further consideration of the position which he had outlined at the AGM had led him to feel conclusively that this was the best course for him to take. He would leave the office with real regret and, though he had no definite plans, contemplated continuing his work for peace through resuming his active ministry in a Church.

In view of the fact that Patrick Figgis made it quite plain that he regarded his decision as final, the Council felt that they had no alternative but to accept it with real regret and to record in the Minutes their appreciation of Patrick Figgis's services to the Union in the following terms:

"The National Council desire to recognise the deep obligation under which they and the Peace Pledge Union would always be to Patrick Figgis for having, at the request of National Council, interrupted his previous work for the purpose of coming to Headquarters at a particularly difficult moment and to record their real appreciation of the service which he had rendered during the past three years. They were conscious of the fact that in his personal relationships with the staff and other members of the Union as well as in his more public work he had expressed the real spirit of pacifism, endeared himself to those who had come into close contact with him and made a valuable contribution to the pacifist cause."

Patrick Figgis will be writing about pacifism and the present world situation in the July issue of the Journal and readers of Peace News are referred to this article for a fuller explanation of his views.

Council agreed that Patrick's resignation should take effect as from August 31, and that he should become a co-opted member of National Council. It was left to the Executive Committee to take the necessary steps to appoint his successor and the post is advertised elsewhere in this issue of Peace News.

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